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Padamai is a satellite who is proud of his carving and his tobacco crop.

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Manimau prefers a mechanical guard against the theft of his coconuts.

Fantan the Interpreter has faith in the charm of the "evil bow" against the theft of his areca nuts.

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If gongs and mokos are beaten for days ahead of time, the sound will soften the hearts of debtors, and wealth will flow into the village at the forthcoming feast.

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Accompanied by the beating of gongs and mokos, a pig and some corn arrive as a dowry payment preliminary to a larger death feast payoff.

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prized virtue in the culture, as we have seen in connection with the education of children and as was abundantly evidenced in cases of illness and wounds. An interesting episode happened one day when an older financier, Maliseni, suggested dancing with young men in this fashion, but offered to pay two cents for each blow instead of receiving return blows. There was some debate among the young men as to the worth of this offer and it was finally rejected. This was apparently too new an extension of the aggression-wealth concept to be generally acceptable.

In the delivery of large dowry payments (*moling*) there is a mock verbal battle in which the female kin of the wife and husband exchange insults about the value of the gifts being given. The men often join these debates. Frequently they are purely formal and are carried out in a mood of chaffing good humor and with much amusement. At other times there may be serious ill feeling expressed and a genuine attempt made to shame the husband and his kin into more generous gifts to the carriers of the dowry payments.

When feelings become intense, particularly between two kin, a dramatic expression of hostility is to swear a curse against one's opponent. These curses vary from mild pronouncements of noncooperation in the future to actual death penalties by leprosy or some other form of dread disease. These curses can be removed by countersacrifices, and usually are, when peace is restored. They are pronounced seemingly in the heat of a quarrel and are subsequently regretted. The curse placed on Fantan by his wife (see autobiography, page 374) is a case in point.

WEALTH CONTESTS

The expression of hostility through wealth has been touched upon in connection with marriage. There are two other forms of institutionalized wealth combats. One is a sort of wealth contest called *tasah* and the other is a type of fine by challenge and shame called *kahukek*. Both of these devices are used only rarely. The realistic hardheadedness of the Atimelang financier does not foster any abuse of these devices.

No wealth contests (*tasah*) occurred during my period of residence in the village, so that I am dependent upon hearsay accounts. During eighteen months there were, however, at least two such threats, which did not materialize. Within the last twenty years probably not more than three such outbursts have occurred in the Five Villages. A condensed and simplified account of one of the most elaborate of these wealth contests is given below.

Maleata was a young man who had married Maliseni's sister, Kol-

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4-26 765 (*bafik*), terms also applied to heavy loads, such as house posts. The difficulty of calling in reserves is further illustrated by the uncertainty surrounding the date set for a feast. The case of the tumukun's payoff death feast will show just how harassing such a situation can be.

The tumukun must have been pondering the event of a death feast for some weeks, but the first indication I had of his plans for it was on March 23, when a group of women gathered to hull rice. The next day [787] he divined to discover the proper date, and the result of this divination set April 4 as the day of the feast. When April 4 arrived it was obvious that no feast was under way. I asked what had happened and was told there had been a two-day delay in order to give guests time to arrive. On April 14 the tumukun again divined for a propitious date, and the day was set for April 26. That night and the next day he had satellites [211 202] deliver thirty-nine invitations in the form of "memo tallies" to inform his debtors that gongs and mokos were to begin arriving as early as April 22. These memo tallies are strips of coconut leaves in one end of which a flat knot is tied; the other end is slit as many times as there are days before the feast. The guest is supposed to tear off one tab a day.

[789] Meanwhile the tumukun had been making gong- and moko-bringing magic every evening and morning. Since all these activities were quite open, no one could have been ignorant of his plans. April 26 came and went, however, but no guests arrived. The tumukun was very much ashamed and, characteristically, very angry. He complained to me of the situation when I was indiscreet enough to inquire about the cause of the delay, and he blusteringly threatened to carry litigations against his debtors to the radjah himself. He began once more a round of visits to his debtors scattered through about ten villages to berate them for their recalcitrance. I asked a neutral person if people were angry with the tumukun and was told that they were not, that such delays were customary.

On July 13 the tumukun again began morning and evening to beat gongs and mokos in order to draw in his wealth. A few dowry payments arrived during the last days of July. On July 28 he went to fetch the soul of his father-in-law, in whose honor the death feast was to be. [769] The father-in-law had been buried in the old Alurkowati village site twenty years before, and his soul had to be brought to the dance place in Atimelang, where his feast was to be given. The tumukun took this opportunity to berate his father-in-law's soul for its inactivity in spur- [718] ring debtors to make payments. The souls of those who are to be hon-

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754 those willing to discuss the matter. A dead man's tooth powdered into
[826] food or mixed with tobacco is supposed to be deadly. A fly that alights on such food will die; therefore, finding a dead fly in food offered by people whose good will one has reason to suspect, arouses suspicions of an intent to poison. All interest in this field, as in the field of witchcraft, remains on a remote plane and is stimulated only by some ill fortune. I feel quite sure there was no general pervasive malaise in this connection.
[52] At a time when Maliseni and his brother were absent a good deal visiting a village on the west slope of Kalabahi Bay, people whispered that they were purchasing poison there. So far as I know, however, the matter was dropped as a subject of gossip after four or five days.

Witchcraft and poisoning are definitely not major problems and are only minor causes, among many, of illness and death. There is absolutely no attempt, such as one often finds in sorcery- and witchcraft-ridden areas, to conceal nail parings, excreta, and all personal effluvia. On page 88 there was an account of a woman who thought her husband had poisoned her by using a piece of areca-nut shell she had tossed away. In an area really preoccupied with poisoning no woman on bad terms with her husband and in a strange village would have been so careless. The interesting aspect of these matters of witchcraft and poisoning is that they are present but largely latent.

● 789 The most frequently used form of malignant activity is the laying
685 of curses. These, as we have already noted, may be directed by one
241 individual against another. It is not done secretly; quite on the contrary,
[578] it constitutes a public declaration of hostility where personal relationships have reached the breaking point. More common is the impersonal use of curses, usually after one has been the victim of theft by an unknown person. Since there is very little property, except garden produce, whose owner is not generally known, most such protections against theft are to be seen in fields, near areca and coconut palms, or near the place where a child, too small to identify anyone, has been robbed. Toddlers often wear anklets with a bell or a single-strand cord belt on which coins or beads have been strung. If these are stolen, and not infrequently they are, a curse will be erected by an expert on the trail where the child usually plays. A common sight in gardens is a bamboo pole bearing one of a large possible variety of sickness insignia. These may be erected before one has been victimized, as a warning to a potential thief, or after one has been victimized, in order that the unknown thief may develop that particular illness.

685 An instance of such procedure may serve to make matters clearer.
789 Fanseni Long Hair's son, a child of about two, had a coin stolen from

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his belt. Fanseni sent for Manifani, who was noted for his boldness in burying lepers. Because of this specialty he always had in his possession a few odds and ends of mats, pots, water tubes, and such things used by the people he had buried. The following morning Manifani set up a bamboo pole about five and a half feet high. The end of it was split and in the crotch he wedged a piece of the leper's mat. A man who erects such a curse should not chew areca, smoke, or have intercourse with his wife on the preceding night. Manifani was paid one cent for his services, which indicates that financial reward was scarcely the motivation for the acquisition and practice of his particular skill. That evening Fanseni took a smoldering brand, rubbed it against the foot of the bamboo pole, and told the soul of the leper to pursue the thief and give him leprosy. He then left the smoldering brand at the foot of the curse.

The practical result expected from this procedure is that the guilty person will be frightened into returning secretly the stolen object. Out of many cases of this sort I never knew one in which a curse actually served this purpose. In the case of Fanseni this certainly did not happen. The following night his wife called that she had just seen a firefly set out from near the pole. Several people rushed out and tried to follow it, since it was assumed that the firefly was the soul of the leper searching for the guilty person. Fireflies are very numerous, so the people were soon confused and gave up their attempt to follow it.

Presumably no person except the one who puts up a curse may take it down. In theory even the owner of a garden or a palm should not harvest produce until the proper person removes the curse. Actually the pole usually topples over of its own accord and is forgotten or disregarded.

Should a person develop any of the diseases for which there are curses, there is surprisingly little interest in trying to connect the illness and a specific theft. Correlatively, there is in the culture no concept of cure through confession. Repeatedly I brought up this question in relation to particular individuals only to have informants shrug off the question with a casual admission that possibly they were suffering from some curse against theft, but never have I seen curses included in divinations used to determine the sources of illness. An illness is not a source of shame, and it will be recalled that shame, not a sense of guilt, is the dominant sanction in Atimelang life.

This procedure all goes to indicate the automatic and essentially impersonal quality of curses. Also, although curses are in fairly common use and are of many varieties, they are probably no more numerous

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than hardheaded, practical devices for safeguarding property. Coconut trees are banded with sharp, downward-projecting bamboo collars which require considerable time and effort to take off. They are purely mechanical guards intended to delay a thief long enough so that the owner will have a chance to discover him.

Ripening crops, particularly those in more remote fields, are guarded by the owner himself, who will not hesitate to shoot night marauders. Many houses have a trap door at the head of the entrance ladder, which can be closed at night. Casual and unintentional entrance into a deserted house is discouraged by a lacework of green branches, which serves as a sort of "no trespass" sign. This prevents an intruder from pleading innocence should he be seen entering a house. All these very practical protections, which are used just as frequently as the supernatural ones, suggest that the Atimelanger does not rely to any great extent on supernaturalism for protection or vengeance against human beings. This does not mean that supernatural beings cannot protect or harm a human, but that human beings do not employ supernaturalism against one another to the extent that peoples in some other areas do. To be efficacious a system of automatically functioning curses would require a population whose sanctions were weighted more on the side of guilt than of shame. That curses are so casually treated bears once more on the point previously made that there is no very marked internalization of moral strictures. That curses are so impersonal causes one to suspect that the negative aspects of personal relationships may be as casual and shallow as the positive ones have been diagnosed as being. In the overgeneralized phraseology sometimes used one might say that modal personality in Atimelang does not have a paranoid trend.

In this connection also, people's relationships to a whole variety of evil spirits (*kari*, *loku*), wealth-bringing spirits (*nera*), and familiar spirits (*timang*) are in many instances casual and expedient. Every individual has one or more of these spirits whom he should placate. With the exception of a few specialists, like seers and prophets of the type described in Rilpada's and Malelaka's autobiographies, people ignore supernatural relationships until some misfortune occurs or some service is required. For instance, the village guardian spirit (*ulenai*) of Atimelang had had no carvings and sacrifices made for it in about sixteen years. In 1938 two others of the Five Villages made the proper sacrifices. This, combined with my obvious interest, finally led the Atimelangers to perform the ritual that theoretically should be performed every year or two. Similarly, men will completely ignore for many years the supernatural beings they have inherited from their parents until some mishap

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wife] went to Padatimang of Kewai and said, "One of your young kin gave Malelaka areca nuts, and now he cannot sleep." Then Padatimang came. I took areca, rubbed my stomach with it, and gave it to Padatimang. He sat down beside me and rubbed my stomach, saying to the witch, "You can't stay here." He extracted something and put it in his basket. When I recovered, I gave him ten cents and he left. Then the guardian spirit of the village came to me and said, "Why do you want to eat that areca? They will pull off your head [a custom of witches]."

Then another time I went to Kewai to see Alurkopada. His daughter Kolata was fetching water. I looked; her head and right arm disappeared, and her body was leaning against a rock. Blood was not flowing at the stumps but had just collected there. Her head and arm were looking for snails in the taro, and she was eating them. [Snails were a source of great revulsion.] I went to Alurkopada and said, "Father, when your daughter returns and cooks, I won't eat of it, because she was out hunting something in the taro." He said, "That child does not do right. If one wants to hunt something, one must do it secretly." Then he went to the chief, who gave an order, saying, "Another time you can't do this. Hereafter no young woman may step over a young man, and no young man may step over a young woman [a witch's system of casting a spell]. If that person does, he will go to jail, and we shall be shamed. If you have food that is cold or old, you must not give it to others; eat it yourself. If the person eats and is sick, we shall be shamed." Then two people from Kewai who were not witches put medicine near the spring. When the witches drank that spring water, they became ordinary people. They put the medicine in a bamboo tube with a hole in the joint, and the water from the spring flowed through the medicine and out the hole. Before this, when their husbands were away, women ate their own children's livers and substituted tuber leaves for them. When their husbands slept they would step over them, and that would make their husbands sleep deeply. Then they would take tuber leaves and put them in place of their husbands' livers. They took out the livers and cooked and ate them. When they did this, they ordered their husbands to go stay with their mothers and fathers. [That is, they ordered them to leave for their own villages so they would not die in Kewai, since this would create suspicion. Note that the informant spoke of witches in female terms, although they were of both sexes. He even acted as though residence were matrilocal, in order to place blame on women.]

[I asked if he remembered any castration threats.] No, but when my

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meanwhile, was avoiding his wife and had slept the preceding night in Karieta, Fungata's village. He returned to his own house in the early morning to discover that his wife had burned his rattan switch with a leprosy curse. She had procured a piece of a leper's mat from Lakamau's house. Lakamau was a neighbor and brother-in-law of Fantan. Burning a leper's mat was considered a much more virulent form of curse than just erecting at the place of the injury a pole with a piece of the leper's mat on it.

When Fantan ran to me in the morning after discovering that his wife had cursed him, he said that this morning at the litigation he was going to divorce his wife and then marry Fungata.

During the litigation Tilamau was outwardly stony, but a strong pulse was evident in her throat, and finally tears ran down her face, though she did not change expression. She accused Fantan of unfaithfulness, of calling her vulgar and ignorant, and so on. The tumukun, however, insisted that she pay Fungata for the broken necklace, and this Tilamau refused to do. The tumukun then turned to Fungata and said, "Within the last month you have had a quarrel with the wife of the chief of Alurkowati, with the wife of Paulus Besar, and now with the wife of Fantan. One of these three men must become your husband. Which shall it be?" Fungata denied having had intercourse with Fantan. Then she said that the story about the chief of Alurkowati was as follows: She was roasting corn in her house when he passed by and said, "Ugh! a wild pig has come to eat your food." She answered, "It must be an evil spirit." He said, "You are an evil spirit too, so we had better marry." This is considered a noncompromising joke. Then Fungata admitted that Paulus Besar had seized her near the government camp on the night of a dance (October 24). At first she denied intercourse, but finally she admitted that he tugged at her breasts. This is considered an admission of intercourse. Paulus Besar was standing on the edge of the crowd at the dance place and was now called to hear judgment. It was suggested that he would have to pay a fine of a five-rupiah moko. He looked very upset but said nothing and went off to fetch it.

While he was getting the moko the litigation between Fantan and his wife was resumed. Both Fantan and Tilamau insisted, when asked by the tumukun, that they wanted to separate. The tumukun then had Tilamau's parents called. This she didn't want. Her excuse was that they would talk loudly and vulgarly. She said that she and Fantan could

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a few people who ignore the theory and plant extra corn fields or even occasional rice fields during "rat years." Yet the social fiction seems almost a rationalization of basic food attitudes in the individual. It appears to be almost an expression of infantile deprivation and helplessness. However, it is only with the utmost caution that I would suggest in any particular case that individual psychology is the direct source of an institutionalized form.

Theft and fear of theft are ramified phenomena whose implications extend beyond their application to food, but the most common type of theft is from gardens. This may be explained on two bases: one is the early theft habits of foraging play groups of boys; the other is that food is one of the few types of property which cannot be absolutely identified and which can be used without much fear of detection. For these reasons, perhaps, one sees the use of curses against theft erected most frequently in fields. These curses, made by specialists, are bamboo poles into whose cleft top are inserted the necessary combinations of magical objects. They are erected in fields where theft has occurred or where the owner fears such an occurrence. Once there, they are supposed to work automatically. A thief would develop leprosy or some other fatal or debilitating illness, and even the owner should call the specialist to remove the curse before harvesting the field. Although these curses are widely used, they seem actually to engender very little fear among most people. Certainly they in no way effectively stop pilfering. Many people are more realistic in the face of depredations and keep armed guard on their fields. A thief caught in the act runs the risk not only of having to pay a fine but also of being shot.

Another important food attitude is shown by the limited range of generosity in distributing it. An occasional guest is fed, but soon enough anyone who is obviously sponging is no longer asked to eat. In case a family runs short of corn or rice it has to buy or borrow from those who may have a surplus. But if food is borrowed, it is at rates of interest running as high as one hundred percent. This holds even between brothers. Thus Panemi wanted a hundred-ear corn bundle. He got it from his brother but had to repay it at harvest time with two corn bundles of the same size. Even feasts, which at first blush appear to be generous food distributions, are far from lavish in actuality. Each female guest brings to the feast a contribution of food. Everything brought by guests is pooled with the hosts' contributions and then redistributed so that women may carry back home but little more than they brought in the first place. Of course they do receive meat in addition, but most often the meat consists of only three or four cubes of boiled pork about two inches square. However, the quantities displayed are considerable and the hosts derive satisfaction therefrom.

I have been concerned with describing a series of childhood experiences and a series of institutionalized adult food attitudes. The experiences of individual children with respect to hunger gratifications and disciplines vary greatly; it is to be expected, therefore, that in adults these cultural attitudes toward food will vary in "the depth or shallowness of meaning in the individual's total economy." Mangma began his autobiography with early memories of a period of hunger, whereas Tilapuda, who was the same age and of the same village, began the story of her childhood with quarrels between herself and other children.